

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT WEATHERMAN

FILE NO. 100-439048

SECTION NO. 35

SERIALS 2357

THRU

2358

100-434048-2337

CHANGED TO

100-434048-53-6.2X.

100 137

2004/20/10

c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

DATE: 7/16/68

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903) (P)

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS-SDS; SEDITION
(OO: CHICAGO)

Re Butte letter to Director, 6/12/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten and for Butte four copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

Butte is requested to disseminate copies of the LHM to the military and Secret Service locally.

[REDACTED]

b1

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.,

RAO (ISD, CP)

DATE FORW: 7/23/68

HOW FORW: R/S

BY: WVA/pac

Enc. destroyed

- 1-9240st.
- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)
- 2 - Butte (100-8547) (Enc. 4) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago
- PLT/DLK
- (6)

REG-78 EX 109

100-439048-2338

11 JUL 18 1968

REC.

JUL 24 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-40903

AL 1:55

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Reference is made to a previous memorandum captioned
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) dated June 12, 1968,
at Butte, Montana.

[REDACTED] The following
information is noted:

[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] b1

Join Community Union, formerly
known as Jobs or Income Now (JOIN)

[REDACTED] advised
that Join Community Union was a community action project of
SDS.

A characterization of SDS appears in the appendix
attached hereto.

[REDACTED] b1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This document contains neither recommendations
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and
its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

1482 SJM/jw
2-10-78 100-40903-900
DATE OF [REDACTED]
Pg 6 of 6

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JUL 17 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

1135PM URGENT 7-17-68 DJSG

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 2P

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. IS-SDS; SEDITION.

REMYTEL JULY SIXTEEN LAST.

[REDACTED] ADVISED TODAY
APPROXIMATELY THIRTY INDIVIDUALS, INCLUDING SOME NIU
SDS MEMBERS, PARTICIPATED IN PICKET DEMONSTRATION TODAY
OUTSIDE HALL AT NIU FROM TWO PM TO THREE FIFTEEN PM CALLING
FOR END OF DRAFT DURING SPEECH OF COMMANDER JOHN HAMMOCK,
SELECTIVE SERVICE REPRESENTATIVE, WHO SPOKE ON NEW
DRAFT LAWS.

[REDACTED] b7d ST-100 REC-39/100-439048-2339
FURTHER ADVISED APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED AND
EIGHTY PERSONS ATTENDED SPEECH AND OF THOS ATTENDING
APPROXIMATELY ONE HUNDRED TWENTY FIVE WERE AGAINST THE
DRAFT.

END PAGE ONE

JUL 18 1968

57 JUL 26 1968

cc - Thompson

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

PAGE TWO CB 100 40903

DEMONSTRATION PEACEFUL. NO ARRESTS OR INCIDENTS.

~~QDE~~ KALB PD, LOCAL SECRET SERVICE AND MILITARY ADVISED.

LHM FOLLOWS.

~~COER P 12, WRD XXXXXX P 1 L 12 WRD 7 SHD BE THOSE ATTENDING~~

~~P 2 L 2 OMIT G AT BEGINNING OF LINE~~

END

CAB /

FBI WASH DC

P

PUBLISHED BY THE SYNDICATE
30 EAST 42 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y.

By Robert S. Allen and John A. Goldsmith

¹⁹⁶⁸
Washington, July 13: The militantly leftist Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is being hectically convulsed by a big dose of its own particular brand of trouble-making medicine — raucous brawling and disruptive dissension.

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP), a pro-Chinese offshoot of the U.S. Communist Party, is aggressively infiltrating SDS in a drive to gain control.

PLP came close to doing that at the recent SDS national convention at Michigan State University, East Lansing. More than 800 delegates from some 200 chapters throughout the country attended the week-long sessions, held behind closely guarded doors and from which the press was truculently barred.

Although PLP's tightly controlled and disciplined group of around 60 was greatly outnumbered, it almost succeeded in capturing domination of the key 11-member National Interim Committee — that formulates SDS policy and strategy.

While thwarted, PLP's power grab was so confusing and disruptive that it largely unhinged the convention.

Delegates spent so much time and energy furiously wrangling over PLP's revolutionary ideology and tactics that scheduled important SDS affairs got short shrift.

100-439017-5210
ENCLOSURE

As a consequence, left up in the air were plans to implement a highly significant change in basic SIS concept and thinking.

In the past year, SIS has shifted from an "anti-imperialist" to an "anti-capitalist" perspective. It is on the verge of embracing socialism, or in the terminology now glibly common among SIS members, "revolutionary communism spelled with a small c."

THE SECRET PLAN

To propagate this new ideology, SIS leaders have evolved a two-pronged campaign — to develop strong regional organizations, and to involve SIS in ghetto activities.

How far SIS will get in these radical aims remains to be seen.

Taking up militant cudgels for the impoverished and disadvantaged, chiefly negro, in blums is far different from staging anti-war and other demonstrations and disturbances on university campuses. Entirely different people, factors and issues are involved.

For example: The recent violent student disorders at Columbia University, in which SIS was active, are one thing. But agitating and organizing "revolutionary consciousness" among ghetto dwellers is something very different.

That's the basic SIS problem, but not for the pro-Chinese communist PLP.

To this small but experienced clique of revolutionaries there is little difference between creating chaos and upheavals on college campuses ^{and} among the ignorant and impoverished in fetid slums.

PLP came into being in New York City in April 1965 at a so-called national convention of communists expelled from the U.S. Party for following the folding line. A 20-member "National Committee" was named to direct the organization until the next

3 — Allen

convention. PLP has a number of publications, among them a theoretical quarterly, a monthly magazine, and so-called newspapers in New York City and on the West Coast.

In New York, PLP has extensively infiltrated SDS and considerably determines its policy. ^{where} This was a subject of angry argument at the Lansing convention.

The Communist Party's designation of a negro woman as its presidential candidate was a deliberate ploy to garner negro support. The original plan was to make Gus Hall, long-time CP General Secretary, the standard bearer. But Moscow ordered otherwise, and he obediently made way for Mrs. Charlene Mitchell, 33, ~~known~~ ^{known} a communist for 22 years.

WHAT'S EXCITING MOSCOW

American jazz ^{music} of all kinds is a major reason for the long-stalled negotiations on a new cultural exchange agreement with Russia.

The old pact expired last December 31. Discussions on a new one have been futilely ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ progress since last September. If and when a new accord will be reached is anyone's guess. After ten months of dithering, there is still no sign of one.

Prominently at the bottom of this prolonged stalemate is the Kremlin's violent ideological disapproval of U.S. jazz, particularly rock and roll.

The Reds want to exclude U.S. combos from ~~entering~~ the Soviet. These pop groups are immensely popular there, ^{they} not only attract huge audiences everywhere, ~~every~~ ^{every} but are rapturously sought out after their performances.

These informal jam sessions, at which there is also a lot of frank talk, especially bug the communist rulers. To them, they are downright subversive and they want to eliminate combo tours from a new cultural exchange agreement. This is a very sore point with them.

h -- Allen

But the U.S. is standing pat and insisting on including jazz. They have been among the most effective pro-American propaganda ^{in Russia} ~~in Russia~~ ^{since} ~~in Russia~~.

U.S. jazz is still further stalling these negotiations although in this particular instance ~~it~~ is in no way involved in cultural exchanges ^{at}.

The Kremlin is extremely unhappy about MUSIC USA, a project of pop music broadcast worldwide two hours nightly from New York. It is sponsored by the Voice of America, and Willis Conover directs the program. It consists solely of music; there is no propaganda of any kind; and it is immensely popular all over the globe.

Conover claims to have 1,600 fan club, ^{here} and thousands of letters to prove it. He gets a steady flow of mail from Russia expressing exuberant enthusiasm and requesting ^{the tunes} ~~the tunes~~ tunes.

The Kremlin would give a lot to silence MUSIC USA, and has complained angrily about it in the cultural exchange discussions. U.S. negotiators blandly pointed out the program ^{is} ~~is~~ in no way involved in the proposed agreement and there ^{is} ~~is~~ nothing to talk about.

But the Russians are still sputtering about it and dragging their feet on coming to terms.

Also distressing them is the flop of their exhibits here in contrast to the smashing success of those the U.S. sends to Russia. They consist of home appliances and other American products which draw large ^{crowds} ~~crowds~~ ^{admiring} ~~admiring~~ ^{thousands} ~~thousands~~. The Soviet has sent over exhibits of children's art and similar objects of limited appeal. As a result, they have attracted few winners — to the Russians' ^{great delaying} ~~great delaying~~.

U.S. exhibits to the Soviet always are accompanied by carefully trained bilingual college youths who are thoroughly politically oriented. They don't hesitate

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 1-26-66)

Date 7-9-68

To:

☒ Director

FILE NO 100-439048

Att: Dom. Intelligence Div.

☐ SAC

Title Special Agent A

☐ ASAC

Domestic Security

☐ Supv.

25-585 6111

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

Re: _____

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Open Case

☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Bring file

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Call me

☐ Recharge serials

☐ Correct

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Deadline _____

☐ Return serials

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Search and return

☐ Delinquent

☐ See me

☐ Discontinue

☐ Send Serials NOT RECORDED

☐ Expedite

to 15 JUL 19 1968

☐ File

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ For information

☐ Submit report by _____

☐ Handle

☐ Type

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

EX-116

REC-99 2341

75 JUL 20 1968

SAC

JOHN F. MALONE

Office

NEW YORK

See reverse side

T

NEWS

CH.13 BUST
BIG PINK

july 1-15, 1968

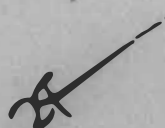
n.y.c 15¢ outside 25¢



100-439048-2342

CHANGED TO

100-450542-1


AUG 8 1968

mk pc

7-44 (Rev. 3-18-63)

SUE Legat, Tokyo (100-275)

August 8, 1968

Director, FBI (100-439048) - 2-343

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
(SDS)

b1

MAILED 24
AUG 12 1968

COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

WIK:dep

(5)

Enc. 4

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative attention is necessary.

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Nationalities Intelligence Section, sent direct with enclosure)
1 - Foreign Liaison Unit sent direct without enclosure.

WIK:dep

(5)

Enc. 4

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI

Date: 7/15/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-114) (100-349140) (100-439040)
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-38841) (100-24800) (100-40903)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF PARTY LEADERS
IS - C

 b7c
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

Re Chicago letter to Bureau 7/3/68 captioned
"CP, USA, PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF PARTY LEADERS, IS - C"
Chicago airtel to Bureau 5/29/68 captioned "STUDENTS
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IS - SDS".

Enclosed for the Bureau are 10 copies of LHM
dated and captioned as above.

-  b1
- ⑥ - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)
 - ③ - 100-3-114
 - ① - 100-349140
 - ① - 100-439040
 - ① - 100-449698 (Info.) (COINTELPRO)
 - 6 - Chicago
 - ① - 100-38841
 - ① - 100-24800
 - ① - 100-40903
 - ① - 100-45316
 - ① - 100-44710

PLT:dmv
(12)

NOT RECORDED
165 JUL 19 1968

Approved: 

ENCLOSURE

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M _____

Per _____

59 AUG 6 - 1968

CARBON COPY

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-114-1180

CG 100-38841

CG 100-24800

CG 100-40903

[REDACTED] b1

The LHM is classified ~~Confidential~~ since it contains information from a source, the disclosure of whose identity could adversely effect the security of the United States.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

July 15, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-34841

100-24800

100-40903

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Reference is made to Chicago memorandum dated June 21, 1966, captioned "Communist Party, USA, Public Appearance of Party Leaders, Internal Security - C" and Chicago memorandum dated May 29, 1968, captioned "Students for a Democratic Society".

[REDACTED] a source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that on May 16, 1968, Lou Diskin addressed a group of students on the campus of the University of Illinois, Circle Campus (UICC), Chicago and made remarks concerning the Communist Party. His appearance was sponsored by an Ad Hoc Committee for academic freedom at UICC. b7d

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Classification Retained
CLASSIFIED BY 1482 SSM/jor
EXEMPT FROM GDS 2-10-78
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

Pg 2 Para 1

100-439048-
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~classification~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] b7C
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

[REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] UICC Chancellor Norman A. Parker had informed the organizations comprising the Ad Hoc Committee for Academic Freedom that Diskin's appearance was considered a violation of UICC regulations and of the State of Illinois Clabaugh Act which prohibits any member of a subversive organization from publicizing its activities on University of Illinois property and that the organizations comprising the Ad Hoc Committee including the SDS, were suspended until further notice.

A characterization of SDS appears in the appendix attached hereto.

The July 11, 1968, issue of the "Chicago Daily News" on page one carried an article captioned " 'Subversive' Speaker Ban at UI Killed". The article stated in part as follows:

"An Illinois law that bans 'subversive' speakers from University of Illinois campuses was declared unconstitutional Thursday by a panel of three federal judges".

"The panel said the 1947 Clabaugh Act was 'an unjustifiable prior restraint of speech that lacks procedural safeguards required for a form of regulation amounting to censorship'".

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

"The strongly worded court ruling said the Clabaugh Act was 'impermissibly vague' and 'abhorrent to the Constitution of the United States both on its face and as applied' by the university trustees".

The above mentioned newspaper article stated that this decision resulted from a suit brought by 27 students and faculty members of the UICC. The 27 sued the university in 1966 shortly after it had denied Lou Diskin use of university facilities for a speech.

The Clabaugh Act according to the article forbids the use of university facilities for any subversive seditious and un-American organizations for the purpose of carrying on advertising or publicizing the activities of such organizations.

Members of the panel hearing this matter were United States District Judges Alexander Napoli, and Bernard M. Decker, and Judge Roger J. Kiley of the United States Court of Appeals. According to the article, Judge Napoli writing for the unanimous panel declared "The university denied plaintiffs the opportunity to hear the speaker of their choice solely on the basis of the speaker's association and views to be espoused".

"We hold that the Clabaugh Act both on its face and as applied to these plaintiffs has denied them due process of law because it lacks the precision of language of a statute regulating an area so closely intertwined with First Amendment liberties; because it is an unjustifiable prior restraint to speech; and because it lacks procedural safeguard required for a form of regulation amounting to censorship".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The "Chicago Sun Times" issue of July 12, 1968, on page three carried an article captioned "Court Voids Ban On 'Subversive' Illini Speakers." The article stated in part as follows:

"Student leaders immediately began making plans to have Communists speak at the Chicago Circle campus".

"However, university officials said they have not decided whether the ruling will result in changes in their policy on campus speakers. They added that they do not know whether they will appeal the decision".

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 16 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

340PM URGENT 7/16/68 CNS

TO DIRECTOR (100-439048)

FROM CHICAGO (100-40903) 1P

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IS-SDS; SEDITION

ADVISED

TODAY NIU SDS MEMBERS PLAN TO DEMONSTRATE AT NIU TWO
P.M. JULY SEVENTEEN NEXT PROTESTING APPEARANCE OF SELECTIVE
SERVICE REPRESENTATIVE COMMANDER JOHN HAMMOCK WHO IS
SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT NIU ON THE NEW DRAFT LAW.

NIU OFFICIALS, DE KALB PD, LOCAL SECRET SERVICE
AND MILITARY ADVISED. CHICAGO FOLLOWING THROUGH
ESTABLISHED SOURCES. LHM FOLLOWS.

ENDL

LPT

FBI WASH DC

61 JUL 29 1968

EX-110 REC-51

JUL 23 1968

5-R

FBI

Date: 7/17/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS-SDS; SEDITION

Re Chicago teletype 7/16/68 captioned as above.

Commander JOHN HAMMOCK, Selective Service representative with offices in Springfield, Illinois, was contacted by agents of the Chicago Office at DeKalb, Illinois, on the AM of 7/17/68 and confidentially advised of the receipt of information indicating intention of Northern Illinois University SDS Chapter to demonstrate against his scheduled appearance at that university 7/17/68.

(3) - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago
RLS:neb
(4)

REC 45 100-439048-2346

EX-116

14 JUL 18 1968

D. O. Bishop

INT/SEC.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

JUL 31 1968

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Bishop ✓
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen ✓
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

Hoover Reports...

SDS Workshop Deals in Violence

By THOMAS TALBOT
 Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

A recent workshop held by the Students for a Democratic Society dealt with "the finer points of firing Molotov cocktails from shotguns" and attacks on Selective Service centers, FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover reported today.

Mr. Hoover said SDS, which played a major role in last spring's riots at Columbia University and other colleges, held the workshop during its annual convention at Michigan State University, East Lansing, last month.

Reporters who covered the convention said they were barred from the workshop by vote of the SDS delegates.

In an annual report summarizing FBI investigations, Mr. Hoover said today:

"The participants discussed various devices which might be developed for use in planned attacks on Selective Service facilities and in connection with other forms of violent demonstrations."

Mr. Hoover, who previously has identified SDS as a communist-infiltrated core of the New Left student movement, added:

"They explored the use of combustible materials and the

various types of bombs which could be devised to destroy communications and plumbing systems of strategic buildings.

"They even discussed the finer points of firing Molotov cocktails from shotguns, as well as similar forms of so-called defense measures which could be used in defiance of police action."

The SDS, which has claimed up to 35,000 members on some 250 college campuses, openly has urged young men to avoid the draft and advised servicemen to desert and "go underground."

The FBI Director also commented on black nationalist groups, which he said have been undergoing racial change and in some instances pose a serious threat to the nation's internal security.

"... Many of these groups are becoming hate-type organizations and are preaching hatred of the white race, advocating violence, and demanding immunity from all laws — local, state and Federal," said Mr. Hoover.

He praised "loyal and patriotic members of the Negro community who have provided the FBI invaluable assistance in penetrating these groups with informants."

FILE

The Washington Post

Times Herald

The Washington Daily News 4

The Evening Star (Washington)

The Sunday Star (Washington)

Daily News (New York)

Sunday News (New York)

New York Post

The New York Times

The Sun (Baltimore)

The Worker

The New Leader

The Wall Street Journal

The National Observer

People's World

Date / JUL 18 1968

100-439048-A

NOT RECORDED

46 JUL 30 1968

JUL 30 1968

NO ack necessary
 Bureau release
 7-18-68
 87

100-439048-2347

CHANGED TO

100-439048-34-232X

11. 179
100-439048-34-232X

C

SAC, Chicago (100-40903)

7/29/68

Director, FBI (100-439048)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS - SDS

ReDElet dated 7/19/68 which requested that 49 copies be made of 514 photographs of individuals who attended the 1968 SDS National Convention held in East Lansing, Michigan, June 9-15, 1968.

The Bureau has previously issued instructions that it is necessary to identify all of the delegates to the Convention so that appropriate investigations could be conducted to ascertain if these individuals should be included on the Security Index. The Bureau agrees that photographs should be displayed to informants and sources to effect this identification. However, to conserve cost in this matter only ten sets of the 514 photographs are being printed at the Bureau.

One of these sets will be furnished the Chicago Office under separate communication and Chicago will take prompt action in handling this matter. This set of photographs should then be forwarded to Kansas City, New Orleans, Oklahoma City, Omaha and St. Louis in that order so that the photographs may be promptly displayed to appropriate informants and sources in those offices.

- 2 - Kansas City (100-12142)
- 2 - New Orleans (100-17205)
- 2 - Oklahoma City (100-7172)
- 2 - Omaha (100-6890)
- 2 - St. Louis (100-19785)
- 1 - Detroit (100-30957)

WNP:jav (15)

NOTE: *gn*

The Photo Unit has advised that if Detroit's request of making 49 copies of 514 photographs was undertaken, the cost would be approximately \$2,500. The cost of making up 10 sets will be approximately \$514.

MAILED 19
JUL 26 1968
COMM - FBI

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Rosen
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

54 AUG 1 1968 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

100-439048-2348
REC 17

8961-83-111-123

JUL 26 1968

SAC, Chicago (100-40903)

7-26-68

Director, FBI

REC-39

100-439048-2349

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1
1
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b7C

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - SDS

GENERAL

Your attention is called to page eight of the June 24, 1968, issue of "New Left Notes" which concerns an SDS National Interim Council (NIC) meeting on June 15, 1968. At this meeting reference was made to an SDS sponsored trip to Cuba in August, 1968, and that applications were to be sent to the SDS National Office prior to the NIC meeting of July 19-22, 1968. Up to 40 people can make the trip which will be similar to the one made to Cuba in February, 1968, by 20 SDS members.

The Department of State has also advised that it has received information that five candidates for the trip are from the Texas-Oklahoma area, with two from Austin, one from Houston and one from Norman. / State

It is further noted that a number of other international travel items were mentioned at the NIC meeting of June 15, 1968. The Bureau has not received any communications from the Chicago Office concerning these various trips on the part of SDS personnel and Chicago should take immediate steps to identify the participants and advise the Bureau by appropriate communications.

San Antonio, Houston, Dallas and Oklahoma City should attempt to promptly identify the SDS individuals from their respective areas who will be traveling to Cuba and submit appropriate communications suitable for dissemination concerning them.

- 1 - San Antonio (100-9833)
- 1 - Houston (100-10114)
- 1 - Dallas (100-10993)
- 1 - Oklahoma City (100-7172)

WNP:ted
(11)

MAILED 22
JUL 25 1968
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57 AUG 6 - 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

@DB/MP

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REC- 71
Director, FBI

7/25

111

b7C

Submit 15 copies of letterhead memoranda.

Enc:

PFR: Jar
(8)



Department, in review of intelligence analysis 6/20/68, requested clarification of resolution to provide support to deserters, and whether violations of Sedition and Deserter - Supporting Statutes exist. It further requested whether the statutes violated when project to establish of drop-in centers near military facilities complete.

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MAILED 3
JUL 29 1968
COMM-FBI

34 AUG - 8 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 7-29-68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages E7018-E7019. Congressman Wyman, (R) New Hampshire, stated some indication of the real objectives of the organization calling itself Students for a Democratic Society can be gleaned from a letter sent to Mrs. Alma M. Kittredge of Meriden, Conn., on July 8 by its national secretary, Michael Klonsky. If the objective of revolution by violence is not implicit in Klonsky's signed statement I misread it. - - - In any event Michael Klonsky's words are fair warning to all Americans that something is seriously wrong with at least this segment of our younger citizens." Mr. Wyman inserted the letter in the Record.

REC 45

SI-103

NOT RECORDED

43 AUG 1 1968

2351

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 7-27-68 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

53

Original filed in: 68-1731-

F B I

Date: 7/23/68

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903) (P)
 SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
 IS-SDS; SEDITION

Remytels, 7/16 - 17/68, and Chicago airtel,
 dated 7/17/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven (11)
 copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) which sets
 forth information concerning a demonstration, which had
 SDS members participating, held at Northern Illinois University
 (NIU), De Kalb, Illinois, on 7/17/68.

Copies of the enclosed LHM are also being
 furnished to the U.S. Secret Service, Chicago, and Region
 I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois, in view of these
 agencies interest in this matter.

EX-103

④-924 DST
 4 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)
 (1 - 14-2941) (SDS - SEDITION)
 1 - Chicago

ELS/vel
 (5)

ENCLOSURE

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. DEPT.

RAO (ISD, SEC, CD)

DATE FORW: 7/30/68

HOW FORW: ALB

C. C. Bishop

BY: WMP/pc

4 JUL 26 1968

INT. SEC.

54 AUG 8 1968

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

JUL 23 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40903

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

[REDACTED] b7d
[REDACTED] advised on July 16, 1968, that NIU SDS members have made plans to conduct a picket demonstration at NIU on July 17, 1968, commencing at 2:00 P. M. to protest the presence of Commander John Hammock, Selective Service Representative, who is scheduled to speak at NIU on July 17, 1968, on the changes recently made in the draft laws.

[REDACTED] b7d
[REDACTED] advised on July 17, 1968, that approximately thirty individuals, including several NIU SDS members, participated in a picket demonstration on this date, outside the hall at NIU where Commander John Hammock, Selective Service Representative, spoke on the topic of the new draft laws. According to [REDACTED] this demonstration commenced at 2:00 P. M. and was terminated at 3:15 P. M. The demonstrators called for the end of the draft.

[REDACTED] further advised that approximately 180 persons attended Commander Hammock's speech and of those attending approximately 125 were against the draft. b7d

[REDACTED] also advised that the aforementioned demonstration was peaceful with no arrests or incidents. b7d

The following individuals were advised of the above information:

[REDACTED] b7C
Region I
113th MI Group
Evanston, Illinois

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-40903-100
ENCLOSURE

RE: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

[REDACTED] b7C
United States Secret Service
Chicago, Illinois

[REDACTED]
De Kalb Police Department
De Kalb, Illinois

[REDACTED]
Selective Service Representative
Springfield, Illinois

Characterization of the SDS is attached
hereto.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

100-439048-(2353) 2354

CHANGED TO

100-439048-252-(16X)

100-439048-11-79X

AUG 5 1971

W N / M. H. W

C



UNIT , STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois

July 25, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY**

Bureau file 100-439048

Chicago file 100-40903

21

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPROVED
DATE

7/30/68
WNP

NOT RECORDED
JUL 27 1968

INT/SEC.

1 AUG 8 1968

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 4-20-67)

Date 7/25/68

To:

☒ Director

FILE 100-40063

CG 100-40063

Investigative Service Desk Unit

Special Investigation Division

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC
SOCIETY; IS-CDS

☐ ASAC

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC

RE:

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign Reassign

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare ticket

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Send to

☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by

☐ Type

Attached are two copies of "New Left Notes",
Volume 3, # 22, issue of 7/78/68. These copies
do not have to be retained for evidentiary
purposes.

Encl. 2

REGISTERED

ENCLOSURE

SAC

M.M. JOHNSON

Office

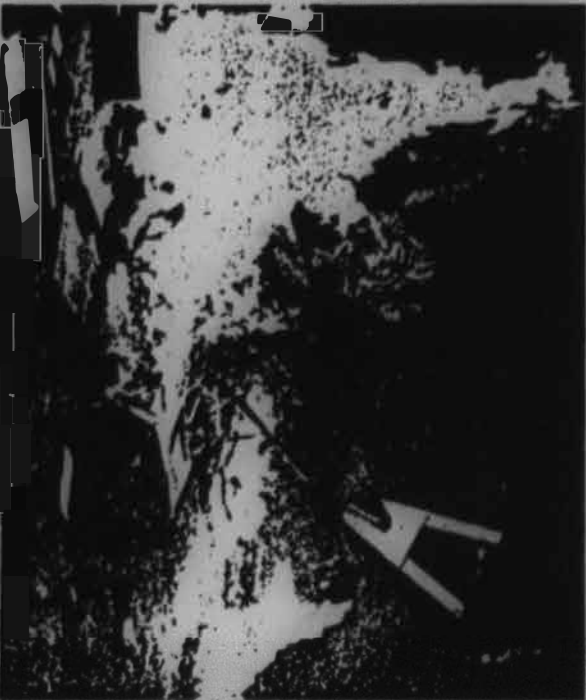
Chicago

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

56 AUG 19 1968

100-437018-2352

Berkeley: 'The People, Yes!'



Some tactical egg-dropper barricades were set up for greater effect. Results seemed to vary, however, and it wasn't always strategic. LMS photo

by Allen Young
Liberation News Service, SFE

Berkeley, California, July 26.—Today the residents of Berkeley, most of them young, big radicals, welcomed the anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence with many rallies, on the pavement of Telegraph Avenue. Six days ago, in the blackness of the University of California campus, thick clouds of acrid tear gas and a mob in the same street, heading of a wave of anger and a fierce but futile. At least three thousand people were involved in some of the same actions, and several hundred participated in the street actions.

The rebellion was most shocking on Sunday, June 26th, when orders were declared. Students reacted by breaking dozens of storefront windows. The sound of breaking glass, heard by the political leader of a neighborhood, was saying "No" to the egg-dropper to the curfew and to the city fathers. "The people yes" clattered the broken panes.

It all began on Friday, June 26, with a rally in solidarity with French students and workers sponsored by the Young

Students Alliance (YSA), the first division of the Berkeley Future Party (Berkeley). The YSA wanted to rally for a parade for the rally, and the police threatened to stop it. It ended with a battle in the streets.

The crowd was spread widely, and the military police had to keep the crowd in the streets.

Eventually the crowd was in positions in the street from the steps of the house they were heading for. The city police ordered the crowd to disperse, and the crowd refused to do so.

Then everyone used the crowd. The egg-dropper was used to break the windows of the stores, and the crowd was used to break the windows of the stores. The crowd was used to break the windows of the stores, and the crowd was used to break the windows of the stores.

For a complete account of the days of Berkeley...

TURN TO PAGE 7

The egg-dropper, however, was used to break the windows of the stores, and the crowd was used to break the windows of the stores.

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 W. Madison St.

Chicago, Illinois

Warrior of the Nation

buildings—who voted twenty-to-three for leaving the buildings. PL was among those inside fighting for escalation.

Let's look at Halliwell's line as he tries to get out from under his Student Power politics and pin the rap on PL. In his "Open Letter to the Membership on Columbia's Student Movement" (NLN Convention issue, June 1967), Halliwell characterizes the PL line on base-building as reformist. "No Student Power issue was too reformist for our PL brothers—curriculum committees in departments, even organizing around dorm hours. Build a base, any old base."

But the base-building proposal put forth by PLers in SDS at the Bloomington NC (December 1967) clearly stated the need for SDS to build an anti-imperialist, pro-working-class base. We see imperialism ripping apart all aspects of people's lives, and want SDS to take up issues most of us have not dared to tackle so far. Instead of Halliwell's fear of "submerging our politics" in struggle around people's day-to-day needs, we should have the courage to win them to our outlook, through mutual experience and political struggle.

Halliwell's "Cliche" proposal (National Convention, East Lansing, June 1968 through 1968), however, takes up no concrete problems urban workers face: wage cuts, rising prices and taxes, slum housing, lack of hospitals, concentration camp public schooling, dope, and other cultural oppression. This is strange, because if Halliwell who always tries to come off as the guy concerned with "decisions that affect people's lives."

Yet at the recent Convention, it was Halliwell who proposed to turn SDS from a perspective of becoming a mass-based, anti-imperialist movement with this "to working people" line. He is saying that mainly students and professionals will make the Revolution; altered, it can be interred into essential

working class must lead the class struggle to socialism and proletarian dictatorship, that is working-class state power.

Halliwell uses the cliche "Old Left" to hide his real politics.

It is weird to hear Halliwell accuse PL of "popular frontism". In the December NC, Halliwell fought for SDS to work closely with the Mobilization Committee (whose last performance in New York, April 26th, starred Mayor Lindsay, whose cops were readying to attack students at Columbia). PL opposed such pop frontism. We said that instead of forming phony alliances from the top and trying to "influence" other "leaders", we must build a mass, anti-imperialist base from below—in struggle.

"Build a base, any old base" is a fitting interpretation of this line from a guy who made one of his rare appearances at a chapter meeting in December to raise money for his trip to Vietnam. Or is this what Halliwell means in his "Open Letter" by "organizing around the prime contradictions of imperialism?"

PL's line, far from being demobilized, was proven to the hilt. What the hell does Halliwell think enabled us to seize buildings and hold out for a week against both the threat and the actuality of police force if not base-building ("two years of educational work around clear-cut radical issues", by his own admission, work in which PLers played a leading role), biting hard, and above all the worker-student alliance—uniting in action with the very Black community which was the first to rise up in armed rebellion against police terror in 1964? Nobody looked to an alliance with the "new" working class: Everyone looked to Harlem. Does he think our chapter led a struggle of thousands of students for the Liberal School he's heading this summer, or be sure we wanted to stop the gym and force Columbia out of IDA?

The answer is that Halliwell was and is for Student Power; the "liberalized" classes

here, again, in his "Open Letter", we see Halliwell's failure to take the workers' side in sharp class struggle. "PL thought we should just close the place down, as if our strike was a simple protest for change at the University. They failed to realize that as revolutionaries we have an alternative conception of the university and society, and we must work in every situation to build institutions on a new foundation. Re-opening the University was like making a start on that new society, simply closing it down was like workers accepting Capitalism and asking for better wages. Again PL could not get beyond a Student Power position."

As revolutionaries, our task is to fight and defeat US imperialism, not concoct a self-interested "alternative conception" of the university. What we must build in every situation is the political and organizational ability to win our demands—revolutionary advance—not castles of sand like "institutions on a new foundation".

At Columbia, it was crucial to win, because of the clear class issues and masses of people involved. In order to build a movement that serves the people, not just our own selves.

And there it is. Re-open the university, Fuck stopping the gym ("a simple protest for change at the University"), Fuck the people of Harlem. Let Columbia throw them out of their homes. We can always hold a "liberalized" class on it. In fact Truman himself would "liberalize" Columbia for us if he thought that's all we'd do.

The New Working Class-Student Power line is a complete emasculation of the question of state power and which class in society holds it. What are Halliwell's above remarks if not an expression of class collaboration, of "coward" institutions with the bourgeoisie under their class dictatorship.

We say that there can be no such thing as a university run under "our auspices" while the country is owned and run by

class society, the class that holds state power. We must overthrow the rulers of that institution. We want to lead workers and their allies in overthrowing the bourgeois state that controls, exploits, and takes our people's lives, and we say so openly. We want socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to destroy and bury imperialism.

PL's role at the outset was to organize, not retreat. We were not alone a "liberalized" school as being primary. Since Halliwell raises the "Challenge" article 1 words, PL's state again: "People have changed. Many students now want to fight and defeat Columbia's racism. This is not a fight for structural reform. NO NEW, FEEL, OR DEMOCRATIC UNIVERSITY CAN EXIST UNDER IMPERIALISM."

PL's line—my line—is the strike was to close Columbia down in order to win our demands. We had the forces to do it. The Columbia Rebellion and Strife was for reform, not revolution, that is the seizure of state power. But Columbia advanced the understanding and ideology of most of those who took part. That was the revolutionary aspect of the struggle. Let the real revolutionaries, jet-set tourists, and madonnas speak for themselves. Let's build a movement, and the struggles that are its basis, that serve and advance the right to defeat imperialism.

Need Money?

Be a sales representative for a socio-political-artistic say poster line. Ideal for individuals and organizations. Write for complete poster profit list.

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, Box 427, Wayzata, MN 55391.

A Message from Michael

Below is the text of a statement made by Mike Klenoff, to be broadcast over Radio Habana, as an Independence Day message.

On July 4th, we in the United States celebrate the anniversary of our struggle for independence from the colonial power of the British empire. SDS along with many other young people throughout this country have come to understand that the American Revolution for independence, personal freedom, and self-determination has yet to be fought and won.

Throughout this country, thousands of people are still fighting for those ideals of 1776. They are facing the full force and power of reaction. In Washington, thousands of poor people coming to demonstrate for more food and jobs were beaten savagely by the police, gassed, and put into prison. In the ghettos, black people, demanding self-determination and equality, have instead had their communities invaded by the National Guard and police. Hundreds have been killed in the streets of Harlem, Watts, Detroit, and Cleveland and on the campuses of many black universities.

The student movement now faces the same type of repression. Hundreds of Columbia University students are facing long prison terms because they dared to struggle for an end to university complicity with the racist and destructive system of world imperialism. At this very moment, students at Berkeley are being attacked by police because they wish to demonstrate their support for their brothers in France, fighting against French fascism.

We in SDS understand that the struggles for black liberation in America, for self-determination in Vietnam, and for socialism in Cuba are all part of one struggle, our struggle.

On this 191st anniversary of national independence, we in SDS are asserting our own independence from the oppressive system of American imperialism. We will not serve in the Army to kill our brothers in Vietnam because our fight is here in America, toward the defeat of Capitalism and imperialism.

On the 4th of July, we will not celebrate the freedom which we do not yet have. July 26th has more meaning for many of us than does July 4th. Instead, we will recommit ourselves to the struggle for liberation, peace, and a new America.

reply to halliwell

trained in intelligence service. I learned that the NO fails to provide the Movement with program, presenting to the national organization what is learned through the experience of individual chapters, then the same mistakes will be repeated again and again by every chapter that begins a new kind of work.

I realize that the NO has tried to get people who are doing work to describe to others how to set up similar projects; there is a real problem in getting people to write. All that I can promise is that this will be done as actively as possible. So far, getting people to write up their work in a form useful to the whole Movement does not seem an impossible task.

I do not want to criticize the previous NO. I am not fully aware right now of the obstacles that it faced. But I do know that many people, particularly in the most active chapters, have despaired of the NO, and so far as they are concerned I might as well not exist. This attitude is intolerable. The thrust of the Movement must be national.

There is very little SDS material which is valuable to people who are setting up new programs. SDS, for example, has put out no pamphlet on how to do Draft counseling, labor organizing, or farm organizing. This means that every chapter that begins a new project has to learn from its own mistakes alone.

Program

II.

Programmatic pamphlets should originate (1) how to do things, (2) the kinds of problems that one runs up against in doing them, and (3) the place of a program described in the wider political context.



Encouraging progress continues in the case of Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Minister of Information. As previously reported, Cleaver was arrested April 18 following a shoot-out with Oakland police, and his parole was revoked the following day, without benefit of trial or hearing. There was nothing unusual in such action by the California Adult Authority, which merely pursued the course of politically-based harassment set by Oakland police and other law-enforcement agencies.

You'll be getting THE MOVEMENT...

The current issue of The Movement (in it a long interview with Black Panther Minister of Defense Huey Newton) is being sent out soon on the New Left Notes mailing list.

We're doing this not only because the contents are in themselves important, but also because the paper is.

As a fraternal organization, The Movement represents both educational and fraternal resources that people should be aware of and use.

Bulk rates, etc., available from The Movement, 449 14th St., San Francisco

on which the authority must appear before him and show cause why they should not be held in contempt of court. Provision was also made for the hearing of a permanent injunction against any such hearing by the Authority.

Edwards said of this "extraordinary ruling": "I have no doubt that there are some people, in all parts of the country, with the courage to do the right thing when they see it."

Shaw had stated in the decision that "the part of Mr. (Cleaver's) parole which remained from his failure of personal rehabilitation, but then his sudden eloquence in pursuing his political goals—goals which were attractive to many of his contemporaries."

"Not only was there absence of cause for consideration of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure subverting to any the level—to the law enforcement of this State."

The move is significant in itself, doubly so because it permits Cleaver to get back into regarding for the release of Huey Newton. The fact remains that, despite the work of men like Judge Shambaugh and radical white lawyer Charles Garry—who secured Cleaver's release—efforts of the rest of the law have been largely successful. In fact most of the Panther's legal and financial resources are still tied up in hanging out of jail.

Regardless of these resources in severely needed, and contributions should be sent to the Eldridge Cleaver Defense Fund in care of The Black Panther Party, 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

July 28th, 1968 New Left Notes

Education Secretary's Incoming

Report:

USE US!



by Fred Gordon

What is the role of the National Office? The role of the National Office is to be useful to the Movement. "Usefulness" has bounds. It does not mean that the NO formulates its own policy which it seeks to impose on the organization, and it does not mean that the NO has its own analysis of American society which it presents to the press as SDS's position. Usefulness means that first the NO is responsible for the mechanics of "getting out the mail" and running an efficient office. But, beyond that, it has more complex functions. These can be described as (1) defining the issues, both theoretical and practical, which come up in Movement work and seeking to resolve these issues by soliciting debate and making sure that the debate is generally understood; and (2) presenting program possibilities to the Movement by getting people who are involved in Movement work to describe how such work can be done.

Perhaps there are obstacles to the successful fulfillment of these functions that I have not run into yet—some strange nucleus gas that rises from the ventilating system of the NO and paralyzes its functions; but so far it seems to me that these tasks are by no means impossible. The failure of the NO to define issues will lead to disasters—and the last National Convention was

The NO, it seems to me, has an enormously unrealized potential for servicing the Movement in crucial ways. This is no time for "having one's own thing". Use the NO!

I.

Some Issues: P.L., Calvert, & What's at Stake

I do not pretend to have a finger on every conception of where the Movement should go. But it should be clear to everyone that if P.L. does not have the opportunity to argue the rationality of its position, SDS will repeat the catastrophe of the last NC. I have begun to pull together a debate between the positions of SDS and P.L. for New Left Notes. What we do not want is twenty or thirty articles that say almost the same thing. We do wish as many people as possible to respond. Some of these articles will be printed. But we demand that the issues be comprehensible to everyone who reads New Left Notes.

To this end, we will seek to clarify and unify arguments and positions. This means that there will be an editorial policy for New Left Notes—not in the sense that we will put forth opinions, but rather in the sense that we will seek to state issues as clearly as possible. The paper exists for the readers, and will print only what is useful to them. On the issue of the basic direction

I am now trying to solicit such pamphlets, and have promises for at least three, one on hospital organizing, one on community organizing, and one on Draft counseling. We are also seeking to become a clearing house for course critique material. In the end we wish to be able to supply people with sound objections to most courses in high schools and colleges in the social sciences.

This is the beginning of an effort to put out good programmatic literature, and does not necessarily reflect what kind of literature you need, and we will try to produce it.

III.

Sundry Things

We are looking, of course, for good research on the power structure,

imperialism, labor, and other radical issues. We are seeking translators of French, German, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Italian, and Spanish so that we can have some idea of what the New Left is doing abroad. Hopefully, we will be able to turn out small portions of foreign places so that we will be greatly hardened. We are trying to compile a list of people who might be available for reviewing books. Write and tell us what field you are in, and we will send you notices of books for which you can volunteer.

IV.

It goes without saying that the NO should not lose touch with the needs of the Movement. Write us and tell us what your chapters need and what you are doing. The NO is another effort for horizontalism. [the end]

Brother Cleaver's Out

Solomon County Superior Court Judge Raymond J. Sherrin to grant Cleaver a writ of habeas corpus, releasing him on \$100,000 bail, on the grounds that the Adult Authority had provided parole for

illegal manner.

This case is yet another arena in which the Movement is raising a fight against the repressive use of conspiracy indictments, and has bearing in that sense on cases all over the country.

The outcome would also provide a good legal basis for the other four accused brothers; Floyd told us that still more indictments are expected, for other militants in Houston.

A battery of lawyers from around the country are working on the TSU case; however, in such a serious frame-up, public pressure will be a significant factor in determining the fate of the brothers.

Floyd stressed to us the need to establish a state wide Movement defense organization in Texas. He says that in an ordinary misdemeanor bust it can take as much as two or three weeks just to obtain a lawyer in some cities. A Chicago defense group already exists in San Antonio, and a support group has formed for the TSU Five in Houston; however Floyd emphasized that forming an organization around the support of one case, such as his own, would not sustain the kind of political organization which will be needed ever more frequently in the coming months in Texas. Instead, it seems that SDS chapters, Chicago organizations, and black student and community organizations are going to have to organize a defense committee which can issue publicity, obtain legal defense and bail, raise money, and build locally on a steadier basis, around local arrests and frame-ups.

We talked about publicity for the TSU case. The accused brothers have been labeled in the bourgeois press as black nationalist-SNCC-commie-Muslim agitators who were sent into Houston to stir up the campus and community. The Red and the other underground papers throughout the South have to take up the main work of getting the truth about these cases out to the broad student community.

The conversation with Floyd suggested several organizing ideas to us: (1) In conjunction with the TSU Five's trial and Huey Newton's trial, a major

first group, and a post-grad group, to choose black people from the black community to sit up on the jury.

(10) We want land, we want bread, we want housing, we want justice, we want education, we want peace.

Convention Statement on Huey and Panthers

The Black Panther Party has been organizing for the last two years in the Oakland ghetto, around a program of seeking social justice and dignity for the black man. Because they have developed a revolutionary perspective on the liberation of the black community, they have been met with a concentrated program of repression (thinly disguised behind a legalistic veil) including armed police attacks, false arrests, and the revocation of Eldridge Cleaver's parole.

Huey P. Newton, the Black Panther Party Minister of Defense and its chief theoretician, has been held in prison for eight months pending trial on the charge of murdering an Oakland pig. There is no question that his is, above all, a political case. From the confines of his cell, Huey Newton has said that he believes that he is being tried not solely as a black man, but as a revolutionary. SDS supports the work of the Black Panther Party in fighting for the liberation of black people. We believe that America has no right to try Huey Newton, since the power structure that he is fighting against controls the courts in which he will be tried.

HUEY MUST BE SET FREE!

In order to implement these beliefs, the SDS National Convention pledges: (1) that it will give full support, in whatever manner is needed, to the defense of Huey P. Newton; (2) that the SDS membership will work in local areas across the country to build support for Huey Newton's defense; (3) that the National Office will co-ordinate a national program of education about and full support for the Black Panther Party.

IN SUPPORT OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

(1) Charles Garry, attorney for Huey Newton, is currently collecting useless jurist affidavits. He is getting them from lawyers, criminologists, psychologists, and sociology professors. The argument of the affidavits is that it is impossible to determine through normal questioning of a prospective juror whether that juror is racist. Therefore it is impossible to guarantee the selection of a fair jury. SDS members should attempt to collect affidavits to that effect from sociology professors in their area.

Affidavits should be taken in duplicate. The original copy should be sent to Charles Garry, c/o Karen Wald, 625 Castro Street, San Francisco, California. A duplicate should be sent to The Black Panther Party, 4431 Grove Street, Oakland, California. (2) Petitions of clemency should be circulated by local chapters discussing Huey Newton's case and demanding that he be set free. Completed petitions should be sent to the Black Panther office at the above address.

(3) Chapters should attempt to raise money for Huey Newton's defense. (4) Chapters should conduct educational programs, forums, at centers about the Black Panther Party. (5) Chapters should do anything else that will achieve the goal of generating political interest and activity around the Black Panther Party and the cases of Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver.



But perhaps the most interesting possibilities in the sanctuary idea emerge if one imagines the scene after a college dorm—men's or women's—or even a whole school has offered sanctuary to an AWOL, to a drafted senior, or to a classmate who has been drafted after having been suspended in this spring's actions. At the present stage, sanctuary remains largely symbolic. Men are, and are expected to be, seized by Federal marshals. Resistance to the marshals has also been symbolic, non-violent, and taken except in a few instances, but transported from church to university, the sanctuary idea offers enormous possibilities for organizing real solidarity and resistance beyond anything so far contemplated.

Occasionally, universities much more even than churches are deemed independent of police power. At Harvard the Governor of Massachusetts is stopped at the gate in a commencement-time ceremony and must ask permission to be admitted. Will the Feds ask? Will the Administration comply? Will students deny? Time was, too, the Yale old campus was a sanctuary against which Guardsmen fired cannon to break defenses.)

In 1966 Vietnamese peasants would drive their cattle into village squares to mark themselves as a symbolic protest. We say at that stage with respect to sanctuary and the Black Panther. But the Ministry of Draft Resistance thus far suggests very clearly the directions things move in from having symbolic cover.

Case Turns at Texas Southern

by Susan Egan

In Houston, on July 10th, a three-judge Federal panel will begin to hear testimony on the case of Brother Floyd Nichols, one of five accused of the murder of a cop in the May 1968 insurrection at Texas Southern University.

Among other charges, members of the TSU Five are variously charged with "weapons procuring, leading to riot, murder, conspiracy to riot...." The murder charge arises from the Texas law which states that anyone who was a participant or a "conspirator" in an event may be held liable for any injuries or deaths which consequently occur. This means that by accusing the five brothers of conspiring to incite a riot at TSU, the authorities are automatically holding them responsible for the death of a white cop who was killed by his own ricocheting bullet on the campus.

We met with Floyd Nichols last week to talk about the new developments in the case and about how we could best relate to it. Although the other four brothers are being defended by the Texas state bar, Floyd is going separately into Federal Court July 10th to seek an injunction against State prosecution in a case in which he would ordinarily be tried by a jury in a State court. He is a plaintiff in these proceedings, charging that the State has violated his Constitutional rights and that the state's under which he is to be tried are themselves unconstitutional on their face. If successful, Nichols will never come to trial. This precedent, set in Louisiana in the late 1950s, means that it may be possible to prevent trial (with its

above can be given to our summer organizing programs nationally. Coaster genocide demonstrations should be called locally around the country to coincide with important dates in the trials of the brothers.

(2) A fact sheet on the TSU case which can be adapted to local use in handbills and newspapers is being prepared in the National Office.

(3) As a stimulus to the building of Movement defense organizations in our local areas, educational meetings can be called around this case. Films like the Newtrel release "Weapons for Black Country" could be shown. The TSU case will be most useful to our own organizing if it is linked to local cases and issues. A local defense organization for the Movement must emphasize the local needs of its constituency.

The Escalation of Resistance

Paul Leader

Two years ago, no one was organizing Black resistance. People mainly talked about and acted out individual gestures of conscience: applying for CO and refusing induction. But in two years, what was the symbolic protest of individuals has become the increasingly political action of groups of men and women.

We can now see in two recent developments in the anti-Draft movement the early, and as yet symbolic, stages of new and economically significant forms of struggle. In Baltimore, the Reverend Philip Berrigan and three others poured blood on Draft files; then a few months later, Berrigan, Tom Lewis, and seven

others, including the Reverend Daniel Berrigan, burned large stacks of a Citizens' file. Maryland Draft Board's files with home-made copies, a few days later, Duke Williams and a friend walked into a Boston Board, poured black paint all over files full of names, and walked out again. Actions like this do to our identity what the summer brought to the press.

These actions have been dramatic and in small ways rather effective. They have stopped some Drafts from leaving altogether and started up the work related to the Boards. At the same time, they have been very costly: Berrigan and Lewis got six years for the blood-gilling abuse. But these first steps have, indeed, they perhaps damage, such high losses. They are intended as acts of symbolism and martyrdom. But, if the War continues, they perform organized and ever-increasing acts of sabotage. They show the way, open the masses. The pressure of events and Draft indifference will breakdown gestures like politics.



Platform of the Black Panther Party

- (1) We want Freedom; we want power to determine the destiny of our black community.
- (2) We want full employment for our people.
- (3) We want housing fit for shelter of human beings.
- (4) We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
- (5) We want decent education for our black people in our communities that teaches us the true nature of this decadent, racist society and that teaches black people and our young black brothers and sisters their place in the society, for if they don't know their place in society and the world, they can't relate to anything else.
- (6) We want an end to the robbery by white racist businessmen of black people in their community.
- (7) We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people.
- (8) We want all black men held in city, county, state, and federal jails

similarity with the development of "sanctuary." On the day of it, asking for "sanctuary" in church from a state that had not been helped to hand and have churches with religious grounds, such a gesture. But it has been remarkably effective in at least three respects. In some of the best instances so far attempted—namely in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Providence—it has established a link connected with a church or meeting that far more active and immediate support. It has also been very attractive to AWOI, or disaffected

In New York, FSM leaders spoke and were hardly endorsed. But a proposal to hold a spring march on Washington to call for an end to the War was voted down. A serious argument occurred over this issue; many people were turned off of marches on Washington as a result of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. After a prolonged debate, the motion was reconsidered and the march proposal was approved. In other business the NC reviewed the activities of FEP (which had been pro-Johnson in the elections), and refused to approve any further support. FEP folded a few months later after failing to obtain a grant from the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO.

In general, the NC and ERAP staff meeting which followed were characterized by a new tone of harshness and quasi-factionalism. Many new people from all over the country were coming into SDS, and it was no longer a small group of intimate friends.

In February of 1965 the United States began the bombing of North Vietnam, and the focus of the New Left began to

had a dozen staff members and had acquired its first printing press. Looking out from Lower Manhattan toward America, the Spring NC ordered the NO Vietnam Convention to be held in the Midwest.

The June 1965 National Convention was held at Camp Maplehurst, Kefauver, Michigan. Four hundred SDSers attended this meeting, which was to prove a transition from the old to the new SDS. It was a new campus generation—from the plains of the Southwest as well as from the Ivy League, Beards and Pancho Villa mustaches replaced the clean-shaven look of early SDS. Folks turned on for the first time at an SDS convention. For the first time the members complained about the way their organization functioned. It was suggested that perhaps national officers were unnecessary. The role of the presidency was sharply downgraded, and the office of National Secretary was virtually eliminated.

Politically, the convention re-affirmed its commitment to the organization of

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students there tend to leave for more exciting places like San Jose or Chile.

As for the Bay Area, the active chapters are at Stanford, San Francisco State, and Berkeley. Most of the activities of the last year at all of these chapters focused on Draft resistance.

The chapters operated as anti-Draft unions during the last summer, and gave out of the strength of those unions.

Student activity at both Stanford and Berkeley focused on the War, and protest on the campus itself was held in response to repression of anti-war activists.

The Peace and Freedom Party was especially big at Berkeley, and was involved in all of the activities there.

SP State's activities moved away from the War after the October action. People there concentrated on the question of

Several of us still in working, and we will also be starting some movement with young workers, drag-acts, at colleges. The area is a very heterogeneous one, and it is difficult to understand what really goes on there; we'll be starting from scratch.

The region generally presents this problem of having to build from the ground up. There was virtually no educational work done last year, but power in the various chapters has correspondingly increased to other particularly eloquent and ingenious individuals.

It is in part a structural problem. We'd like to start some experimental procedures of building things. I think we may have some success in this, but it is something we have not yet really gotten into.

WHERE IS SDS AT?

In the June 23 issue of the Guardian, Jack A. Smith analyzes the significance of the SDS convention at Michigan State, discusses the Red, the Black, the Faction, the Southem reports on women as a developing force within SDS, Uniques, revealing reportage. This issue FREE with every new sub.

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SLID to Resistance - III

BY C. CLARK KISSINGER

This is the final installment in a series of SPS history — 1960 to 1965 — by C. Clark Kissinger, laying out its evolution from the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

SIS earned the 1964-65 school year with heavy-term chapters and about twenty hundred members on the books. It published a weekly underground discussion bulletin for the membership and sent out a regularly mailing to a select list of about two hundred activists and chapter contacts. It had moved the office out of LDI's building into a room over on lower Fifth Avenue, and had three paid staff members in the NO. 1247 building, a building staff and office in Ann Arbor and published the EXAP Newsletter.

Having moved on a campus devoted to liberating students directly in terms of economics and political power at the local level, SIS was ambitious beyond to conduct the great one (last): the escalation of the War in Vietnam and the unopposed outbreak of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley. Through caught up in the war, SIS chapters all over the country had the support for the Berkeley movement and heavily endorsed the tough primer-structure analysis of the University drawn by the Berkeley students (which found directly from the Mississippi experience of the 1961 leaders). But a certain tension existed about becoming actively involved in the anti-war movement. This tension drove from SIS's traditional rejection of single-issue organizing and toward belief that America had to be rebuilt first in order to do anything about further policy (the aspect of American politics least related to American reality).

During the past year, the issue of integration. At the December NC, the organization had called for an anti-education program on economic imperialism, and had chosen the Chan. Education funds as its first target. In March, SIS organized a large demonstration and rally in the New York Herald Square (the hundred people, forty arrests) and issued a broadsheet of the New York Herald Square. This was immediately followed by the April march on Washington.

In organizing the march SIS followed the principle that anyone who opposed the War was encouraged to participate and organize for the event. One organizational barrier, including SIS's, was broken, and SIS made the decision. This meant that for the first time since the Cold War began real live students (of all shades and descriptions) were accepted equal status with the old-line pacifist and liberal and anti-communist peace groups. Internally the LDI (which was still paying the National Secretary's salary) went through the roof, and SAIZ finally refused to participate. The march was, however, an enormous success. Twenty-five thousand students marched on the campus of the Hall to the Capitol building to demand an end to the War.

SIS was now nationally known and recognized as the main force on the anti-war issue. By the end of the school year, SIS had a membership of 100,000.

Local power bases and the anti-war movement. It was a victory of the anti-war movement at a time when everyone was looking to SIS to end the war by national blockade. It also reflected more toward resistance, labeling a proposal by the National Secretary to keep students in class and to court around to be spent in Washington's Education Park. And finally it destroyed the last vestige of SIS's LDI origin by removing the long-term commitment of escalation from SIS's constitution.

A rebellion was born in SIS. Carl Oglesby, now elected president, and virtually every member of the SIS staff found himself in the NIC. It is my hope that in the not-too-distant future a National History of the Movement can be written which will attempt to show the interaction of the various groups and the intervention of history during the 1960s. The reality is that many chapters by ending with the slogan of the Movement from the time to present.

My objective is to show how the various chapters were accomplished and how they got into the NIC. I will have you.

NIC / Regional

Following is a brief regional report from Morgan Spector. He is working in California in a leadership San Francisco-Berkeley and -encompassing region, with Nick Gruenberg, Todd Gilpin, Bill Watson, and Paula Dimerstein. Smaller and more extensive reports are being solicited from the rest of the NIC and other regional organizers.

The first fact about the region is that it is extremely divided. The two major regional units—the Bay Area and the Central Valley—have been in a bitter feud since the Sacramento Bay Area and Fresno. Consequently, we have registered two different regional reports, one concentrating on the Bay Area and one on the Central Valley. There is little to say about the Bay Area and the Central Valley because of the

Each of these can be the focus for activities on both the regional and chapter levels.

The Draft

Despite the ability of the Johnson peace play and the reduced draft calls to increase people's hopes, there is no sign of a change in the War itself. Given the willingness of the NLF to continue their offensive while negotiating, and given the necessity for the US to keep up their defenses while completing their surrender, there is no sign that the Vietnam situation will cool off in the near future.

Because of this situation we should be able to use the Draft and the War in the following ways:

(1) Locally: Chapters can extend their current anti-draft activity on campus and in the community through extensive Draft counseling centered in a community apartment or a campus office. If these projects proceed well enough, the chapters will want to initiate an anti-draft union focused around some form of offensive, communal resistance.

(2) Regionally: Regional or city-wide anti-draft centers should be formed to co-ordinate the activities of the many existing anti-draft organizations. This is especially needed in large population centers where the areas of marginal anti-draft activity can be defined only by a central office which knows what is happening. This office facilitates the formation of co-sending centers in neighborhoods that previously have none.

Radical Education

The Movement moves and our political environment changes, so it is natural that none of us has a comprehensive grasp of (or understanding of) our present circumstances. How we act in the fall depends on our evaluation of the political climate and of our own past and present projects. This kind of critical evaluation has been nearly non-existent in the Movement.

by the people involved, who best understand their own needs, or by the specific conditions of the region which demand special research.

The Black Revolution

It should be evident that this summer will be characterized by extreme violence in the nation's ghettos, culminating in generally authorized genocide. We should prepare now! To help our black brothers.

(1) Locally: The chapters should hold meetings structured along the lines of the Vietnam teach-ins. These could most effectively be held in the community (although the campus would do) for the purpose of raising money, educating the white middle class, and putting pressure on the community leaders.

(2) Regionally: In the metropolitan centers we should form emergency organizations which would probably only function when needed. This would involve raising bail money, mobilizing medical and legal aid, and providing housing, food, ammunition, and other needed supplies. These services could best be provided from campuses near the major ghettos. (Note: This sounds like a liberal service project, but it's not. The experience would be radicalizing for the middle-class professionals involved, and could lead to demands for complete police withdrawal and complete home-rule for the ghetto, as happened in Washington DC.)

Community Organizing

It's about time we did some serious work off campus. There are many areas of our society that would be more favorable to radical demands if we had more contact with the people.

(1) Locally: Chapters can set up projects around any of the three topics listed above—or around electoral politics, at centers—in order to provide a wider exposure for our kind of politics. These projects can focus on low-income white neighborhoods, or on middle-class suburbs. Both targets are potentially valuable.

SAVING ATTITUDE AND MUST NECESSARILY break down when put into practice. There is no way to separate teach-ins from radical education, and the best kind of anti-draft work has to involve community organizing. The best summer program would be one in which all of the above are functioning without division. This would provide an organically coherent program at both the regional and local levels.

Implementation is obvious: If you don't get off your ass, there won't be a summer program. Each chapter that will have members during the summer should choose some areas to focus on in order to hold its members together, and should let other chapters in the area know of the project.

The regional projects outlined above also will lie dormant until there is some interval from the grass roots. It is easy to draft a blueprint—but if no one takes an interest in pulling together the projects, there will be no radical activity during the summer, and little to build on in the fall.

reached it. It is meaningless and dangerous to declare victory.

Traditionally we have had massive confrontations with the cops, but people learned a lot these past few days. Sometimes the most effective actions can't be publicized at mass meetings. Most of the time, going on means into a phalanx of cops is suicide. Probably our biggest tactical advantage has remained was our ability to break into small groups that could move where the cops could not. Each group was discretionary. Cops had just too much territory to cover.

Some will say that unless we declare victory people will be demoralized. We think there are lots of reasons to be elated—no need to manufacture a plastic victory. We are turned on by the early stages of this struggle. It's good to know that we have the guts to fight back. We have a sense of community and comradeship that we never had before. We have a better understanding of how authority, law, and order ultimately all rest on martial law.

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Berkeley / All the Rules Broken



COMING OR GOING, OFFICER ?

by Arlene Elson Bergman
the Movement

(Editor's note: Arlene Elson Bergman has been an activist in the Berkeley area for more than three years.)

Berkeley, California, July 4th (LMS SCHO)—Sunday night (June 30th) there was a man playing a guitar walking up University Avenue. He was singing "The Times, They Are A-Changin'". Behind him there was a throng of several hundred people. By the time they turned the corner nearly every window on the block was broken.

In twenty-four hours, other people were petitioning the City Council for a permit to have a mass meeting on Telegraph Avenue July 4th.

People have fought hard in the streets. All the rules of previous demonstrations have been broken. The cops used gas on a massive scale. We retaliated, for the first time, by stoning windows. They deployed guns against us in unmarked cars. We set barricades on fire, and someone even had the balls to set a cop on fire. They proclaimed a curfew and established martial law in Berkeley.

When we broke the rules of the demonstration game, we were asserting our right to control our own community. We were challenging the Establishment's definition of "law and order". We were taking what we knew is ours.

The demand for freedom of assembly was broken on afterward. Our struggle in the streets had nothing to do with petitioning our "city fathers" for permission to meet on our own turf. We have proven that merchants will pressure the City Council into letting us meet on Tully so that business can go on as usual. The problem is that we don't want business to go on as usual. Berkeley's gods change.

When it all started we were expressing our solidarity with French students. Their goal—to overthrow an oppressive system—is our goal.

There is a possibility of making Berkeley a model for the United States. Berkeley is perhaps the only city in the country where radicals are the "fish in the water".

Our struggle is about people's control over a community. This means that the cops are disarmed and all non-Berkeley forces are withdrawn from the area. This means that the city of Berkeley abolishes its Draft board or appoints a Draft board that refuses to comply with the Selective Service System. This means that the Trustees' power over the University is delegated to a democratically-elected board of students, faculty members, and community people.

This means that the City Council meetings are open to the people. These issues are open to the people, and to the people's control. We cannot petition for community control. It is not a demand that can be brought to Mayor Johnson for approval. That would be as absurd as petitioning for his own ouster from office. We don't make trivial demands or petitions.

Summer Program Notes

Chris Robinson
New School 525

The two necessary functions of any summer program are (1) the strengthening of the chapters so that they will be better prepared for the opening of classes in the fall, and (2) the recognition of the political environment in which we find ourselves, with at least a modest attempt to deal with it. In accomplishing each of these there are four topics

(1) Locally: Given the need for increased knowledge and self-criticism, our chapters should become involved in internal education focused on the need of the chapter. This is an especially good project for the small chapter which will have problems maintaining membership over the summer and which usually spends the first two months of fall reconquering its losses.

(2) Regionally: Each metropolitan center should form Liberation Schools

(2) Regionally: On the larger level there are many kinds of projects that need a broader base to work from than that which a chapter provides. These would include work in or with any of the major labor unions, attempts to unionize non-union workers, and major propaganda efforts.

Conclusion and Implementation

The Marxist-Leninists (I do not use quotation marks since there are no other contenders) are the Groupes de Travail Communistes (Communist Labor Groups) and the Union des Jeunes Communistes

May, and Che lately. I am more inclined in the end to take the middle approach, recognizing that in certain instances a good relationship existed, while in others there was hostility.

reading the "Newspaper" on the radio. I heard that some Americans were buying up reams of papers which are already on sale in the U.S. Within a matter of days after things began to quiet down, the books were out.

Let I do not wish to understand the events of the past few months in France. A tremendous reserve of power is in the hands of French workers and students—and now they know it. For that there is no doubt.

Draft-Card Burners & the Dollar

Carlton S. Graves
Former Labor
Internally of Minnesota

"...the ultimate causes of all social changes are to be sought, not in the minds of men, but in the changes in the mode of production and exchange;...the growing realization that existing social institutions are irrational and unjust, that reason has become nonsense...it is only a sign that changes have been taking place quietly in the methods of production and forms of exchange with which the social order, adapted to previous economic conditions, is no longer in accord....These means through which the abuses can be eliminated are not to be invented by the mind, but discovered by means of the mind in the existing material facts of production." (Frederick Engels, Anti-Dühring, Part 3, Section 2)

If what Herr Engels tells us has merit then we should be able to discover a relationship between current social unrest, manifested by anti-war demonstrations, crises that the military draft is "quitting", uneasiness in the intellectual community, of editors, and changes in the structure or emphasis of the economy. I think this can be demonstrated.

The majority urban capitalist industrial society that developed in America following the Civil War, collapsed in 1929. Along with it, world capitalism

1930s. Mussolini in fascist Italy and Hitler in Nazi Germany made their capitalist economies boom by spending for war. Pacific, isolationist America, disillusioned by World War I, limped along with one-third of the labor force on relief. Only when America began to spend for World War II in 1939 did the depression, unemployment, and the need for public relief end.

With the triumph of the Allies in 1945, spokesmen for American capitalism began to talk of "post-Americanism" and the "American Century". In plain talk, a system of world-wide capitalist imperialism dominated by Wall Street. The sole threat to the System at that time was the other victor in the War, the ally that had borne the chief brunt of German expansion, socialist Russia. So the American people, historically anti-imperialist, began to be indoctrinated with a rather paradoxical ideology of "anti-Russians" and "containing communism". Politically and economically this achieved two results: It sold the American public on world imperialism, inherited from the former European colonial powers, and it allowed Washington to continue to spend for war during peacetime.

Modern capitalism has not stood on its own two feet since 1929. Manually pricing uphens an excessive amount of labor's product into the pockets of the owners. This money must be re-invested in the economy (for capital goods or luxury spending) in order to become income for the consumer. In time of economic crisis it is not re-invested, so income falls off, demand falls off,

prospects for profitable investment diminish, and the economy inevitably falls into a depression.

It has been discovered that government deficit spending (most politically expedient, for war goods) can keep income, consumption, and re-investment up, and thus avert depression. The Keynesian multiplier begins to become for the war worker and soldier, which becomes income for the grocer, which becomes income for the cobbler, and so forth. Constant slow monetary inflation is a necessary result of the process, but this too is a stimulant for investment since depreciation of capital goods is less than the inflation. Thus the national debt rises.

The present-day American voter has been indoctrinated with anti-communism as an ideology for imperialism and capitalism. This is only natural, since the mass media are capitalist institutions themselves and wish to preserve this privileged system of economic organization, as do their supporting capitalists. Because the voter begins to cry "socialism" if money is voted for projects like urban renewal, lawbreakers are pressured to vote war appropriations to keep the economy going.

Enormous profits accrue each year to the handful of families at the top of the economic ladder. The managers of these funds must find opportunities to invest them the world over, outside of the socialist countries. If a communist revolution succeeds, such as the one in Russia, then that country is lost

would be more obvious than to take the war material and use it to crush a communist insurgency, as in Vietnam at present. Since World War II, socialist China and Cuba have been "near" to American capitalism by not following the path. Timely action in 1960 prevented the "Year" of the Domestica Republic, at center.

So we find that Engels' change in the mode of production is a post-World War II capitalist economy which is dependent upon war spending for its full functioning and which is threatened by a world imperialism threatened by communist revolutions.

Under the System, the average citizen suffers from monopoly pricing, inflation, taxation for war, threat of incarceration by nuclear rockets, and compulsory military service as "volunteers of the world". He is forced to police himself the investments of the people who exploit him economically at home. Hence the unrest.

But he also suffers in the aftermath of imperial plunder and war-time full employment.

The United States today is a fascist democracy, and a fascist dictatorship (the latter is a derivative of the bourgeoisie). This fascist democracy is an ostensible political democracy, the economic superstructure of which is a system of monopoly capitalism made to function by spending for war (not or cold). Engels, of course, recommended public ownership of the means, all mills, factories, of editors, and payment of the profits of these enterprises into the

July 20, 1968 New Left Notes

A Letter From Paris

By Eric Gordon Paris, June 25th, 1968
SDS

Let me say that I have not followed the French scene intimately for many years. I have spent only a week in Paris at this writing, and my contact has been with students. I could not explain all the nuances among the dozens of groups and factions—not to mention political parties—if I tried.

But I do know the inadequacy of the American press, and my impressions of one week here may be of at least some help. I do read and speak French, so my report is not based solely on visible evidence. Many readers will regard my judgments as erroneous. I do not feel defensive about them, but I stand by them until I have seen otherwise.

Let there be my question to that effect. I should say that at least among the students the Parti Communiste Français has no following at all. There are some posters demanding the vote at age eighteen sponsored by the youth branch, but since most students reject the bourgeois electoral process anyway, I do not know who is really influenced by such a demand. Opponents of the PCF do not universally use the term "revisionist". Mostly the PCF is rejected because it is too well ensconced within the framework of the present social and political system. Its leaders are too bourgeoisified; they do not fight militantly to achieve radical demands. Its bureaucracy is not distinguishable from that of any other party—Left, Right, or Center. Its call, "(Vote) Communist!", fits within the same category as "Drink Coca-Cola". Revealing of its true ideology at the present time is its derogatory use of the term

—Marxists-Leninists (Union of Communist Youth). The pro-Chinese Communists worked with other students in the occupation and defense of the Université de Paris and the Sorbonne, but did not as far as I can see exert a dominant influence. When I asked one about the problem of working with fundamental anarchists, he agreed that a serious problem indeed did exist in that respect, but that the problem of struggling against revisionism came foremost.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit has described himself as an anarchist. Whatever he is—although I suppose we should take his own word—he seems, by his own design or otherwise, no longer to be the leader of the student movement in France. Anti-anarchists, at least, seemed to want to impress me by affirming that there is no leader now.

His role in any case was debatable. Some enthusiastic students told me he had an excellent relationship with the factory workers he went out to see, and had discovered them to be as militant as the students. Other more cautious observers on the Left would say only that now the door has been opened to greater worker-student solidarity, but it could not honestly be said that any real victory had been scored yet.

More conservative sympathizers with the workers' demands felt that the students did not understand anything about the workers' complaints or what kind of militancy the workers were willing to adopt. In a number of places, they said, workers told students to beat it—they were not interested in following a rag-tag bunch of "filles de papa" ("Daddy's children") into a political unknown at the risk of job loss.

One program that may encourage a greater degree of exchange between students and workers is the proposed Summer University. Normally during summer vacation the students will keep the University open, offering their courses to anyone who wants to attend. Hopefully, workers will be among them. Another plan is for a long march through France this summer to develop revolutionary sentiment throughout the country. I did not ask toward whom this march would be directed, but it is a fact that so far hardly a moment's thought has been given to the peasant sector in France, which is rather strongly Gaullist.

I asked whether any students had decided against more schooling and opted to take factory jobs to do political work there. One person who was very enthusiastic about the good relations that had developed between students and workers said yes, there were a few, but really the workers were quite militant anyway, and more organizers were not necessary. A number of the pro-Chinese groups, however, seemed proud that many of his comrades were those who formed the Communist Labor Groups, and who edited a publication, *Servir le Peuple* (Serve the People), based on experiences at work. In my opinion, I frankly thought the first student was kidding himself—perhaps it was a defense against the indignation of my question.

Posters had a variable renaissance during the strike. No party failed to have its posters. But most of the announcements came from the anti-establishment (that means all parties) Left. Most carried clever

(I imagine there are a dozen new posters of Bobby in the States, too, right?) "The May Revolution in France", "May Questions", "The Walls Tell It", not to mention the latest re-publications of Che, Marxists (who seems popular), Lenin, et cetera.

It is true that a revolution has never taken place in a fully advanced industrial and technological society such as those in Twentieth Century Western Europe and the United States. Therefore it is hard to say of what kind such a revolution would make use. But I am sure that the "worker culture" which is so prevalent and so superficial among the Left and its sympathizers in the US has spread over to Europe in all its multiperfect two-dimensionalism. The revolutionary hour de force, it seems, was to invent a poster slogan color and cleverer than any other, and so the latter and decoration ascended. Now the venerable history in France, and I do not wish to denigrate it, but there seemed to be a resistance to getting down to where it's at, and that I found regrettable. I wonder also if it ever occurred to anyone that the very name Cuba-Band would mean nothing to Americans—and nothing, I think, to the French either—if it was not for the bourgeois press itself. It is hard to think our reliance upon our masters is so great!

"France will never be the same again," everyone says. That depends on what you mean by "different". I do not see any reason to think that the bourgeoisie's relationship of the French worker to his work will be any different in the foreseeable future. One of the problems

July 18, 1968

J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have been studying the reasons, the actions taken, and the future impact we can expect, if we continue to condone the SDS siege on Columbia University April 23 - 30th.

It is hard for me to believe that intelligent leaders and citizens, mayors, governors, college officials, and law enforcement officials can stand idly by and permit such a takeover to occur. Generally, the SDS is a minority group and will continue to be -- if we control their actions. But, if we permit any further demonstrations or organizing programs -- then, we can expect further repercussions.

Frankly, if my child were a member of any disorderly group, he or she would cease to be a college student. I would have condoned the legal action taken if my child had been a part of the Columbia siege, or the Ohio University siege. Let's be tough on such organizations! Let's disband them! Make it a federal offense to participate in these revolutionary groups! These men and women who go to our colleges and universities are supposed to be our future executives, businessmen, and leaders. Let's establish firmer guide lines now, to mold their futures, and the future of our Country.

If Federal legislation is necessary --- please don't wait! Your serious follow-up is requested. I would appreciate knowing your opinions and immediate actions.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

EXP. PROC.
37 AUG 2 1968

4 AUG 2 1968
CORRESPONDENCE

REC-34

100-1739048-751 August 6, 1968

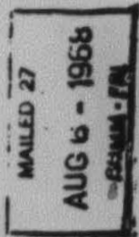
Dear [REDACTED] b7C

I received your letter on August 2nd and appreciate your kindness in furnishing your comments to me.

In response to your remarks regarding the Students for a Democratic Society, I am enclosing some material reflecting my views concerning this organization. I trust you will find them of interest. New b7C

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



Enclosures (3)

An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism

LEB Intro 10/66

LEB Intro 2/67

NOTE: On basis of available information, correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

FMG:bsc (3)

Refer
Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

8/19/68

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8589)
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-44963) (P)
SUBJECT: DEMCON
Re Buairtel, 8/9/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are thirteen copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) which sets forth information concerning Democratic National Convention (DNC).

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

4 - Bureau (Encls. 13) (RM)
1 - 100-439048) (SDS)
2 - Chicago
1 - 100-40603) (SDS)

ELS:pag
(6)

ENCLOSURE

53 AUG 26 1968

NOT RECORDED
100 AUG 20 1968

157-8589-462
ORIGINAL FILED IN

CG 100-44963

The Chicago office has instructed its informants to be alert for any information regarding the possible disappearance of the UMC by the SDS. Chicago is following this matter extremely closely and if any information is developed concerning this matter the Bureau and interested offices will be immediately advised.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois
August 13, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-44963

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS, AUGUST, 1968

[REDACTED] b7d

[REDACTED] was announced by Wayne Heimbach, member of the SDS National Office Staff, that the SDS contemplates to bring into Chicago, Illinois, SDS organizers for the Democratic National Convention. According to Heimbach, the SDS is of the opinion that a large contingent of "Young Mc Carthy supporters" will be in Chicago for the Democratic National Convention and after the first few days the convention is in session, they will realize that Senator Eugene McCarthy cannot win the Presidential nomination and therefore, will offer an excellent opportunity for possible recruitment into SDS membership.

According to source, Heimbach further stated that the Chicago Police Department will have the convention hall completely surrounded with policemen and will be looking for some reason or excuse for a "mass bust and arrest" of radicals at the convention, especially SDS members. As a result, the National office of the SDS is quite fearful that the Chicago Police Department will use any excuse to raid the National office of the SDS.

Classification returned

148.2 SJM/jm
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Pg 1 Para 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
classification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

DEMONSTRATIONS OF THE NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS, AUGUST, 1968

Source further advised that Heimbach also stated that because of the aforementioned fears, the National office of the SDS is not at the present time contemplating to participate in any disruptive activities at the Democratic National Convention and that if any SDS members do participate in such activities, they are strictly on their own.

A canvass of SDS informants, who are familiar with source phases of SDS activities in the Chicago, Illinois area were contacted and these informants have advised that they have not received any information that the SDS has any plans for the disruption of the Democratic National Convention.

A characterization of SDS is attached hereto.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the, October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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M. H. F. R. H.

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